

Message Text

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ORIGIN ACDA-19

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TO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY VIENNA PRIORITY

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NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR VERIFICATION

REF: A. BONN 2404

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. DURING DISCUSSION WITH FRG AMBASSADOR VON STADEN FEB 15, ACDA DIRECTOR IKLE EXPLAINED THE IMPORTANCE OF VERIFICATION INCLUDING MBFR VERIFICATION TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND SUGGESTED THAT FRG AND US SHOULD WORK TOGETHER CONSTRUCTIVELY TO OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES ON THIS ISSUE. IKLE OUTLINED REASONS WHY WE BELIEVE IT

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IMPORTANT THAT SOME NEGOTIATED VERIFICATION MEASURES

SHOULD BE AVAILABLE TO ENSURE THAT RESIDUAL FORCE LEVELS ARE OBSERVED AFTER AN MBFR AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED. VON STADEN EMPHASIZED FRG DESIRE NOT TO BE GIVEN ANY KIND OF SPECIAL STATUS IN AN MBFR AGREEMENT AND AGREED TO IKLE'S SUGGESTION THAT THERE SHOULD BE FURTHER US/FRG DISCUSSIONS OF MBFR VERIFICATION ISSUE. VON STADEN RAISED THE QUESTION OF FRG ACCESS TO NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS AND SAID THE FRG WISHED TO PURSUE THIS IMPORTANT QUESTION WITH THE US BEFORE ANY DECISIONS ARE REACHED WITH OTHER ALLIES. END SUMMARY.

2. ACDA DIRECTOR IKLE REQUESTED FRG AMB VON STADEN TO CALL FEB 15 FOR GENERAL DISCUSSION OF MBFR VERIFICATION QUESTION. HIGHLIGHTS OF DISCUSSION FOLLOW.

3. IKLE EXPLAINED THAT ACDA HAS A PARTICULAR RESPONSIBILITY WITHIN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT FOR FOLLOWING VERIFICATION QUESTIONS. IN MBFR CASE, REAL PROBLEM AFTER AN AGREEMENT IS REACHED WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE VERIFICATION OF WITHDRAWALS BUT VERIFICATION OF RESIDUAL FORCE LEVELS IN FUTURE. SOME YEARS LATER, PERHAPS IN A TIME OF CRISIS, IT COULD BE VERY IMPORTANT TO HAVE NEGOTIATED VERIFICATION MEASURES WHICH WOULD HELP ALLIES REACH A COMMON POSITION ON HOW TO REACT TO A POSSIBLE VIOLATION.

4. IKLE CONTINUED THAT WE ARE AWARE OF GERMAN POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES ON MBFR VERIFICATION ISSUE. FOR THAT REASON, IT WAS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT THAT FRG AND US WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY ON THIS QUESTION. IKLE SUGGESTED AND VON STADEN ACCEPTED IDEA OF FURTHER US/GERMAN CONTACTS TO DISCUSS MBFR VERIFICATION PROBLEMS.

5. VON STADEN REPLIED THAT MAIN GERMAN CONCERN WAS TO AVOID ANYTHING WHICH COULD LEAD TO SPECIAL STATUS FOR FRG. A QUOTE TIGHT NETWORK UNQUOTE OF PERMANENT VERIFICATION TEAMS WOULD PUT THE FRG IN A SPECIAL SITUATION IN THE WEST. THAT IS WHY THE FRG HESITATES TO ACCEPT SUCH TEAMS AS THE PRINCIPAL ELEMENT IN A
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VERIFICATION SYSTEM. EXISTING MLM'S ARE A DIFFERENT CASE BECAUSE THEY ARE THE RESULT OF FOUR-POWER ARRANGEMENTS MADE IN THE IMMEDIATE POSTWAR PERIOD AND NOT OF DECISIONS TAKEN BY THE FRG. VON STADEN ALSO DOUBTED WHETHER MOBILE TEAMS COULD REALLY BE VERY EFFECTIVE IN THE GDR AND EASTERN EUROPE. HE SAID BONN WAS NOW GOING TO STUDY THESE QUESTIONS INTENSIVELY.

6. IKLE POINTED OUT THAT US, LIKE FRG, REGARDS NTM AS PRINCIPAL MEANS OF VERIFYING AN AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, MOBILE TEAMS, WHICH WOULD NOT BE NUMEROUS ENOUGH TO CONSTITUTE A QUOTE TIGHT NETWORK UNQUOTE, COULD BE AN IMPORTANT COMPLEMENT TO NTM. FOR EXAMPLE, THEY MIGHT BE USED TO CHECK INFORMATION DEVELOPED THROUGH NATIONAL MEANS. THEY COULD ALSO PROVIDE A POLITICAL SIGNAL AS WOULD BE THE CASE IF THEIR ACTIVITIES WERE SUDDENLY CURTAILED BY THE HOST COUNTRY WITHOUT EXPLANATION. IKLE SUGGESTED THAT FRG POLITICAL CONCERNS ABOUT INSPECTION TEAMS COULD PERHAPS BE MINIMIZED BY CALLING MOBILE TEAM MEMBERS QUOTE LIAISON OFFICERS UNQUOTE OR

GIVEN SOME OTHER NAME WHICH WOULD NOT HAVE CONNOTATION OF QUOTE INSPECTORS UNQUOTE. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION, IKLE SAID WE HAD NOT CONSIDERED HOW SUCH TEAMS MIGHT OPERATE AND HOW LARGE THEY SHOULD BE.

7. IKLE ALSO NOTED FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER ROTH'S SPECULATION (PARA 7 REFTTEL) THAT US MIGHT BE SEEKING OVERT VERIFICATION IN MBFR AS A PRECEDENT FOR A MIRV MORATORIUM OR SOME OTHER SALT II ACCORD. THIS WAS NOT SO. OUR POSITION ON MBFR VERIFICATION WAS TAKEN ON ITS MERITS.

8. VON STADEN ASKED WHETHER WE THOUGHT SOVIETS WOULD AGREE TO NEGOTIATED INSPECTION MEASURES. IKLE SAID WE COULD NOT BE SURE BUT IF WE DID NOT ASK FOR ANYTHING, WE COULD BE SURE TO RECEIVE NOTHING. MOREOVER, SOVIETS MIGHT JUST FIND IT EASIER TO ACCEPT INSPECTION MEASURES APPLICABLE ONLY TO SOME OF THEIR WARSAW PACT ALLIES BUT NOT TO SOVIET TERRITORY ITSELF.

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9. VON STADEN PRESSED ISSUE OF ACCESS TO NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS RECALLING LINEBAUGH/LAHUSEN CONVERSATION OF JAN 28 (STATE 18727). HE SAID THIS WAS IMPORTANT QUESTION FOR FRG SINCE ONLY A COMBINED OPERATION COULD PRODUCE REAL RESULTS. IKLE REPLIED THAT WE HAD TAKEN FULL NOTE OF FRG CONCERN ON THIS SUBJECT, NOT ONLY IN MBFR CONTEXT BUT AS BROADER ISSUE INVOLVING EUROPEAN SITUATION WHETHER OR NOT MBFR AGREEMENT EXISTED. VON STADEN SAID FRG WISHED TO PURSUE THIS MATTER WITH US ON BILATERAL BASIS BEFORE ANY DECISIONS ARE TAKEN WITH THE ALLIES. KISSINGER

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